

Kin Groupings

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Step Relation Class

Step relationship might occur either with the marriage of several women to one man or with the remarriage of a spouse after the death of a former one. In either case, the terms used were the same. Step parents and children and step siblings might already have been related and, in that case, they called each other by the old terms. If they had not been related, terms were established as though the new spouse had been married in accordance with junior sororate and levirate. i. e.

<i>Term</i>		<i>Reciprocal</i>	
hakit	step f	hakimat	step ch mn sp (or, colloquially, wokca, arrow quiver)
tcisk	step m	ma'i	step ch wm sp
siis	step sb, senior descent	ci'piti	step sb junior descent

These three terms make no provision for other procedure than the junior levirate, the step parent being called by the term for younger brother or sister of the dead parent, step siblings by the term for real sibling. The colloquial term which has come to be used for step child means "arrow quiver".

Other step relations are called by the term of previous kinship.

Extensions

The use of extensions should theoretically go to the fifth remove in both directions, for the Papago statement is: "The great great grandparent is the last relative. After that, we are no kin." As a result, any descendant of the great great grandparent should be given his proper place among the extensions while the more distant connections would be called not "my relative" but "relative of my father, my grandfather" or some one within the required five generations.

<i>Pima term</i>		<i>Papago term</i>	
vosamejik	d-in-law, mn sp f-in-law, wn sp	wo.somat tel'i	m of gch through d, wm sp
kaamejik	d-in-law, wn sp m-in-law, wn sp	ka'amat tel'i	m of gch through son, wm sp
nyipahamatak	s-in-law mn sp f-in-law, mn sp	nyi pa'amat o.k	my f of gch through d, mn sp
moi ak	s-in-law, wn sp	mo-s o.k	f of gch through d, wm sp
chuchumi	m-in-law, mn sp		unexplained

more than for the other male relatives and he, at need, would hunt⁵⁹³ or till the land for her. But the relationship was one of help without intimacy.

The close tie with siblings of one's own sex and respectful help⁵⁹² to the opposite sex, continued into adult life. The brothers, during⁵⁹³ their father's lifetime, worked together under him, often living in the same house and bringing their wives home to share it. On the father's death, they built themselves separate houses but often they continued to share the land and its proceeds, their wives cooking together in a common kitchen. (I. 2. A; I. V. A and C).

Even if the brothers divided their land, they acted in many way⁵⁹³ as an economic unit. Ceremonial payments falling upon one member were made by the whole group or by that member who could best afford it. Vengeance for murder — a rare occurrence — fell on any^[628] member of the group who was available. Dependant relatives were^[632] billeted in any of the houses as convenient and the young people of the group worked for any member as ordered. The junior levirate^[587] was strongly in force and an older brother, dying, would be replaced in his household by one of the younger ones.

The companionship of sisters sometimes lasted equally long. After sleeping on the same mat through childhood two of them, or even three or four, might be married to the same man and continue^[587] to share their tasks till death. Even though they were not co-wives during life, the younger might marry her sister's widower and care for her sister's children.

But when the sororate was not convenient, the connection of sisters with all their siblings temporarily lapsed. A woman was^[582] always expected to marry into another village so as to avoid her blood kin, and in her husband's household she became part of a new female group, composed of sisters-in-law married to the sons of the family. Often she was too far off for her siblings even to send her gifts, for only one gift exchange between such a brother and sister is mentioned (I. 3. B). If her brothers went through ceremonial purification, she might not know of it and would be absolved from bathing and fasting. She would go through these rites with her new family; her husband and his resident brothers.

But this separation, dependent on geographic limitations, was⁵⁹³ often only temporary. If the sister's marriage was broken up by⁵⁸⁷ death or divorce, she immediately returned home. (I. 3. B). If she⁵⁸⁴ were too old to remarry, her brothers would provide for her as suited their arrangements: either in a house with one of them, in a separate house, with a field of her own or with produce from the common field. If she was still young, it was their duty to find her

593 another husband. "My brother found a man for me. I did not want
 587 that man but I could say nothing against my brother," (26). The
 584 males of the group were in authority and their responsibility for the
 sister was resumed as soon as her connection with the distant
 village ceased.

593 This sometimes happened without her losing her husband. For
 various reasons, listed elsewhere, she might find it convenient to
 return with her husband and share the family land. No objection
 was ever made to this practice and for three groups of brothers only,
 there are five groups including one or more sisters. (I. 1. A. B. C.
 D. E; I. 3. B. 5. 9. and 12; I. 6. A. B. C. D; I. 7. A. B. C; I. 8. A
 B. C. D. E). In such a case, the sister's husband was given exactly
 the same status as a brother, sharing land, services and payments.
 But the sex division continued for even adult men should not
 converse too freely with their sisters. It was the sister's husband
 who received intimate treatment, while the sister joined the group
 of her brother's wives.

605 Outside the group of blood brothers and sisters, were the "distant
 siblings", the cross and parallel cousins on both side of the house
 with whom marriage was forbidden. But the relationship was
 sometimes rather vague if the relative lived in a distant village.
 "They married me to one whom I called elder brother but he was
 very distant. And he lived in another village so we thought there
 was no harm" (26). In childhood, if cousins were the children of
 brothers, they might live very intimately but as they grew up, they
 formed their own sibling groups and were cut off from their former
 companions. Still, they were thought of as potential intimates and,
 whenever the geographic difficulty could be overcome, they were
 accepted into the circle. "I heard this story from my father's
 sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. She was living with us that
 winter" (26). In cases of necessity, also, duty to a sibling had to be
 done at all costs. I. B. 1 was an old man with three wives but when
 his distant senior sibling died and there was no one to marry the
 widow I. B. 1 became her titular husband although neither he nor
 she cared to have her live with him.

428 It may be of interest to note whether Papago behavior shows any
 593 emphasis on seniority outside that involved in the levirate and
 sororate. Very little is apparent for, although in the origin myth, the
 supernaturals strove for the title of Elder Brother, no modern in-
 formant could explain why the title was important. Such a title is
 usually connected with inheritance of property or office but Papago
 sons inherit the father's land equally, sometimes without dividing it.
 I. 1. 8. B. 1, an oldest brother, voluntarily absented himself and

MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men had only one. 595
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The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition. 595
587●

Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children. 582
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[591]

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son." 584

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

885 sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband,
 [593] as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

585 The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's
 house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married
 before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband
 of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's
 parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough,
 received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents
 often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her
 sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to
 consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to
 him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very
 young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise
 with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their
 own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who
 returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people
 came to us and said, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a
 man but that man went away to the White school and when he
 came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she
 is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true
 that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.'
 So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had
 come back to her mother's house.

[562] "A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot
 have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a
 husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't
 say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of
 her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

595 All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters,
 it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might
 be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them.
 The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his
 attention between two wives.

837 The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered
 784 after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies
 and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion
 for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these
 times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

159 stood there and looked at us and he said to my little girl: "What will you
695 do, go with your mother?" "Yes." He said: "Go on. I'll come to see you
sometimes." He thought it was a joke.

In the afternoon I got to Mesquite Root and told my brother. He said:
"All right."

Next day we were all in the field, eating watermelons, and there my hus-
band came. My brother said: "What do you want?" "I just came after
these people." My brother was angry. My husband said: "Her father came
and proposed to me for her. It seemed a good thing." He meant that
woman. But my brother sent him away and so he went. I did not say any-
thing. I thought my husband would send away that woman and come back.

159 A few days later my uncle found out. He said: "We cannot have this
695 woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband. We
must show that other man that he cannot get her back." So he went to
an old man and proposed for me. That old man was the one who had danced
me when I became a maiden. He had had a wife then, but now she was
dead and he was living alone. He was a rich man; he had horses.

He was a distant relative our ours, one whom I called my elder brother.
My father would not have allowed me to be offered to him, for we do not
marry relatives. When my brother spoke to him, he said: "Very well, my
younger brother. I will be there in two days."

My brother and my uncle came and told my mother and me. I cried.
My mother said: "Wait. Her husband will be sorry and come for her.
They have been together since they were young." But my brother would
not. "Mother, you'll see. This man may be old, but he has something. He
may take care of her and of you, too. That's one of my reasons." You see,
my family was poor then.

I did not say anything. No woman has a right to speak against her
brother, even if he is younger, as this one was. And my mother had no
right either, against the men. My brother said to me: "Look here, he has
something. He may be a help to you and to me." I knew that my family
was poor. I said: "I'll see. If this man is good to me, I'll stay. If not, I'll
give it up."

In two days the old man came, in the evening, on a horse. My brother
spoke to him as if he was that old man's father: "If you don't take care
of her, I'll take her back." The old man said: "All right." Then he told me:
"I'll try to take good care of you, feed you and give you all you don't have.
Now you go to sleep. Early in the morning I'll come and get you." He
came and took me behind him on a horse and we went down the valley
to Where the Rock Stands Up. My little girl stayed with my mother.

Where the Rock Stands Up was nearer to where the white people live ^{159¹} than Where the Water Whirls Around. My husband had an adobe house ⁶⁸⁷ there, not a brush house. He took me into it, and we lay down and rested. Then he said: "Since you have done this, my younger sister, look around and see your home." There was a little fireplace with a chimney, and inside there stood a box full of money. The old man raised horses and sold them to the white men and the Apaches. He opened that box and said: "Whatever you want, you buy." I had only the things I had on. I said: "I have no cloth to make clothes. And no sandals." I had come barefoot from Where the Water Whirls Around; we do not wear sandals except for long journeys. "In two days, get food ready and we'll go to Tucson. There are beans, flour, lard, wheat." So I ground the wheat and made tortillas.

We started on two horses for Tucson, not on one, as I had always ridden before. I had never been to Tucson. It was not like it is now, but there were stores. I bought a silk shawl, brown, with pink roses and long fringe. I was ashamed to spend so much but he said: "Buy another for every day." Then I would not have bought anything else but he bought a pair of shoes. I never had shoes before. He bought good pieces of calico and a canvas bag to put them in. He went to tie them on a horse, and he pointed to something in a window: "Don't you want that over there?" It was a sewing machine. I said: "What would I do with it?" So we left it and came home.

That old man had many horses. He traded them to the Apaches, and ^[437] they paid him money, not food and clothes, as my first husband used to be paid. He could go to Tucson and buy any kind of food he wanted, lard and wheat and potatoes and cow's meat. I got fat. I could not stoop over to put on those new shoes. My uncle came to see us when he was trading horses and he said: "What have you been feeding her?"

But I felt bad. I did not love that old man. I was not fond of him. I ^{159¹} used to go in the washes and lie flat under the greasewood bushes and cry. Or I would lie on the floor in the house, when my husband was away, covered up with blankets. It hurt.

I never saw my first husband again. They told me that when he heard of my new marriage he cried. He said: "I didn't think she would take my child from me. I thought she would stay near and at last come back."

He did not say anything about leaving that second wife, but she left him. I had gone when the watermelons were ripe, and that very autumn, ^[586] when the grass was dry, she went home. I did not know it. Where the Rock Stands Up was a day's run on foot from Where the Water Whirls Around. His brother came much later and told me, but then it was too late. In the spring, in the month of cholla ripening, he got sick. His brothers

THE DESERT PEOPLE

581 Normally Papago marriages run smoothly and are quite stable. Whether the new home is with the groom's or the bride's parents, the other partner does not suffer an abrupt transition from his old home situation. As before, he is expected to work industriously to help earn the family living, to defer to his elders, and to be modest and inconspicuous.

583 At first the new couple may be the juniors of all other adults in the family group, and they have a corresponding lack of influence. During the first months of marriage the bride must prove her ability to fit into the family and do her full share of work. There may be some reserve toward her as a person who is not yet fully one of the group, but, with the birth of the first child, her status changes considerably. The chances of her going home to her parents are greatly diminished. The interests of the new mother and the household have now converged in the child, and she is bound to the others by a very tangible and important tie. She goes about her work with a new assurance and no longer stays in the background when there are visitors; instead she will be called on to display the youngest member of the family. There is a new warmth in the voices of family members when they speak of her, and she is more often mentioned and considered rather than simply included because she is present.

The young father's status is also changed, for he is no longer an irresponsible youth but a man with a family. His opinions in household matters are more seriously considered, and he can speak with assurance in discussions among the men. Paternity is not a prerequisite for recognized adulthood among Papago males, but the birth of a child undoubtedly contributes to the dignity of a man's position.

585 Gradually, as they grow older and have more children, the couple will assume more responsibility for family judgments. Ideally they will at last reach the position of being the seniors in the household, with the highest authority.

● 587 If a man's wife dies, he is likely to remarry. The children may remain with him or may be cared for by his, or his first wife's, parents. If a woman loses her husband, she may continue to live with his family, particularly if she has children, but ordinarily she returns to her parents' home.

586 Naturally, not every marriage is successful, and divorce, usually for incompatibility, is not uncommon. One or both parents may remarry, the children of the first marriage remaining with their mother or being cared for by grandparents, whichever arrangement suits the new couple. In the case of Indian-custom marriages, divorces must be obtained in the tribal court (see chap. vii).